

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Deng Xiaoping on Reforming Leadership System
- Minister Wu Discusses China's Foreign Relations



Zhu Jianhua Sets a New World Record

LETTERS

"Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping"

The publication of the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* is a great event. It helps people correctly understand the changes that have taken place in China in recent years. It also tells people vividly the pains China endured while ending that chaotic decade. I read the book with great interest and eagerness.

At the same time, I felt anxious that editions in foreign languages still have not come off the press. To satisfy the readers, your magazine has begun publishing major articles from the *Selected Works*. I appreciate your consideration very much. This is because many people abroad, including quite a few progressive persons, do not really understand the gratifying changes that have taken place in China in recent years, or even have some misunderstandings.

The publication of the *Selected Works*, which reflects the views and acts of Deng Xiaoping, the person who played the role of helmsman in this change, will help people clear up misunderstandings and view China correctly.

If the foreign editions cannot be published for the time being, I suggest you consider publishing pamphlets or something in other forms to let Deng's major writings reach foreign readers as quickly as possible.

Hiroumi Takano
Beijing

Beijing Review should be commended for having the courage to

print articles from Deng Xiaoping's new book. It is this kind of direct exposure of Deng's own words that can serve to increase the understanding of China's recent political history.

During a visit to China in 1971 I was told that a central question in the politics of that time was how far and wide criticism of the Party should be solicited. Deng was said to be part of the group that felt criticism should be restricted to the parameters of the Party organization. Mao Zedong supposedly held an opposing view. The printing of detailed, internal conversation from the Central Committee in a mass publication is, to me, an indication that the question over degrees of Party criticism is still alive.

Richard Pendleton
Boston, MA, USA

Dynamic and Thoughtful Reports

In your weekly you combine candor of presentation with materials which illustrate and analyze selected themes, and amply cover events which are relevant to China itself or have international connotations. Of these, the interesting documents which discuss Chinese modernization, facts and figures, international political analysis and other subjects of equal relevance really stand out.

Your magazine manages to be light and dynamic in its news. Your articles condense all the facts yet recount each week's news in full. You have a fluid writing style and use simple, clear terms in Spanish, which makes for easy reading.

The international section has been one of my favourites, principally for its richness. Many times it explores areas other na-

tional and international media do not. Your analyses are detailed, inclusive and impartial; a welcome change for one who does not often find publications as thoughtful and fair in their judgments. The same careful thought is evident in your very complete analyses of Latin America, which I read regularly. I applaud your initiative. Far from trying to represent the interests of various foreign concerns, your articles (on Latin American issues) are always equitable and truthful. This is a very constructive approach for a magazine to take, and one cannot underestimate its value.

I feel I am lucky to be able to rely on a weekly report such as yours. It has a special character shared by no other publications in the world today.

Victor Manuel Pena Fernandez
Santiago, Chile

Chinese Lawyers' Dedication

I very much liked the article "How Do China's Lawyers Work?" (a feature) in issue No. 23. Through it I better understood the great differences between the old legal system and the new, socialist one of China. I was especially impressed by the Chinese lawyers' dedication to enforce justice, and act according to the new socialist system.

The contents of your journal are interesting as a whole, with deep analysis of international affairs of the world. Would you please carry more articles about Chinese lawyers and the legal system?

Mohammad Yusuf Jama
Hargeisa, Somalia

More on Marxism-Leninism

As a reader of *Beijing Review*, I like most articles on political thought and theory. The article on "US Intervention in Central America" in Notes From the Editors (issue No. 34) helped me very much to know the truth about the foreign policy of the US imperialists against third world countries.

In general I enjoy reading most of your articles. The series of articles on Chinese-Type Modernization and Facts and Figures are very interesting.

My suggestion is to publish more articles on Marxism-Leninism.

Nanda Chinnarassen
Quatre-Bornes, Mauritius

When They Were Young

The fascinating life stories of 19 Chinese women who grew up during some of the most tumultuous years of recent Chinese history. Their lives exemplify the tremendous changes which have taken place in China during the past several decades.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Deng Xiaoping on Reforming Leadership System

The first English translation of a most important speech by Deng on reforming the system of Party and state leadership. While explaining the major problems of the system and the ways to solve them, he stresses the need to eliminate the influence of feudalism and bourgeois thinking in the course of reforms (p. 14).

Zhu Jianhua Clears the 2.38-Metre Mark

Zhu Jianhua set a new world high-jump record of 2.38 metres on September 22 at the finals of the Fifth Chinese National Games in Shanghai. For this, he will be awarded a prize at a congress to be held by the Asian Amateur Athletic Association in Kuwait in November (p. 5).

Chinese Leaders on Sino-US Ties

Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao meet US Defence Secretary Weinberger. Zhao welcomes the recent improvement in Sino-US relations and hopes to exchange visits with President Reagan next spring (p. 8).

Foreign Minister Wu's News Conference

The Foreign Minister discusses China's relations with Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union, and its views on the peace movement and disarmament (p. 9).

Chinese-Foreign Joint Ventures

New favourable treatment to Chinese-foreign joint ventures is provided for in the recently announced rules for implementing the laws governing such ventures. The major changes in the rules and the latest developments in joint ventures are described by our Economic Editor (p. 4).

Hanoi's New Trick

On the eve of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly, Nguyen Co Thach sent a letter to some UN member countries seeking their support for Viet Nam's obstinate stand on Kampuchea (p. 10).



Zhu Jianhua sets a new
world record by clearing
2.38 metres.

Photo by Chen Tao

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Another important document on joint ventures

Last week, the State Council published the Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment (see our next issue for full text). The rules cover all aspects of Chinese-foreign joint ventures from application procedures to pricing, and, most importantly, the opening of the domestic market and the adoption of more flexible taxation policies for these enterprises.

It is another document governing China's economic relations with foreign countries. Together with the existing laws and decrees concerning income tax, registration, labour management, and the controls over foreign exchange in joint ventures, these new rules will help perfect China's legislation regarding businesses which use both Chinese and foreign investment. No doubt they will also promote the development of these ventures.

The new rules came about as a supplement to the regular Law on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment. Experience gained in these enterprises over the last few years made clear the problems which still need to be addressed.

With 118 articles in 16 chapters, the document covers several major points, including the legal position and form of the Chinese-foreign joint ventures, industries in which the joint ventures may be set up,

application procedures for establishing a joint venture, ways of contributing investment, the formation of boards of directors and managing organizations and their working principles, channels of purchasing and marketing as well as pricing, financial and accounting systems, contract periods, dissolution and clearance and settlement of disputes. These are all problems the industrial circles both at home and abroad are most concerned with and which call for immediate solutions.

The rules show China's determination to adhere to a policy of opening to the outside world. By giving favourable treatment to Chinese-foreign joint ventures, the new regulations will ensure profit for the investors.

The most important change the new rules will bring about is the proper opening of the domestic market to these joint ventures. When a joint venture contract is negotiated, both parties are often concerned about the proportion of products to be sold in China and abroad. A joint venture must export a certain amount of its products to earn some foreign exchange to balance its foreign exchange payments, and to constantly improve the quality of its products and management through the competition on the international market. However, the Chinese Government does not, as clearly stipulated in the rules, mechanically demand that all joint ventures market the major part of their products

abroad or balance their foreign exchange receipts and payments. Items produced through joint ventures which China urgently needs or imports for its modernization drive can be sold chiefly on the Chinese market. Under these circumstances, any shortage of foreign exchange of a joint venture will be offset by the superior department in charge of the Chinese participant or the department which originally gave approval to the venture through adjustment of its retained quota of foreign exchange.

Stipulations concerning wages and other legitimate incomes of foreign staff and workers have also been relaxed. They may ask for permission to remit abroad all their incomes after deducting their living expenses in China.

The taxation policy has also been relaxed. The Second Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress held in last August approved the revision of the Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment. The revision stipulates that Chinese-foreign joint ventures will be exempt from income tax during the first two profit-making years (formerly during the first year only). They will have to pay half of the income tax in the third, fourth and fifth years (formerly in the second and third years only). The rules further state that a joint venture can apply for an exemption from industrial and commercial consolidated tax for a certain period when it has dif-

difficulty in paying this tax in the early days of production.

In addition, the rules provide that favourable treatment with regard to customs duty on imported machinery, equipment, parts and other materials should be given to a joint venture when it is first set up or when it wants to expand.

Moreover, the rules guarantee much more self-management for Chinese-foreign joint ventures than for other enterprises in China.

The board of directors of a joint venture has the right to make decisions on all important matters of the joint venture. Its general manager may either be a Chinese or a foreigner.

According to available statistics, a total of 105 Chinese-foreign joint ventures were set up in China between July 1979, when the Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment was declared, and June 1983. They represent a total investment of US\$526 million, of which US\$214 million was contributed by foreign partners. In the first half of this year, 22 new joint ventures were approved. The major area of investment has shifted from light, textile and tourist industries to high-technology machine-building and electronics industries.

We believe that with the implementation of the new rules more Chinese-foreign joint ventures will be set up in China, playing a greater role in China's economic construction.

—Economic Editor Wang Dacheng

October 3, 1983

EVENTS AND TRENDS

Zhu Jianhua sets new world record

Zhu Jianhua set a new world record in the men's high jump on September 22, by clearing 2.38 metres at the finals of the Fifth Chinese National Games in Shanghai.

The crowd of 40,000 which filled the Hongkou Stadium to overflowing went wild with joy when Zhu successfully set the new world record. A long standing ovation greeted him as the 20-year-old Shanghai student ran around the track, waving a bouquet of fresh flowers.

The 1.94-metre-tall Zhu is the fifth and youngest child of a Shanghai transport worker. His new record toppled on his own world record of 2.37 metres, which he set on June 11 this year in Beijing in the preliminaries to the games. However, he failed to live up to his early expectations at the First World Track and Field Championships in Helsinki last August, taking only a bronze medal with a disappointing performance of 2.29 metres. But he did not lose confidence.

Back to his home city, he trained hard. He said in private a few days before the national games that he could jump over the height of 2.38 metres.

"The new record was by no means my maximum limit," Zhu said at a press conference after his record-breaking performance. "I am very hopeful of attempting a new height."

Seiko Yasuda, President of the Asian Amateur Athletic Association, and Maurice Nicholas, Council Member of the International Amateur Athletic



Federation, congratulated Zhu Jianhua on his success. Mr. Seiko Yasuda said Zhu's breaking the world record twice this year was an honour for China and all of Asia.

On September 23 in Beijing Seiko Yasuda announced that the Asian Amateur Athletic Association will award a prize to Zhu Jianhua for his world record performance of 2.38 metres. The award-ceremony will take place at a congress to be held in Kuwait on November 4.

More cadres of minority nationalities

With the further implementation of the policy of self-government for national autonomous areas in China, more and more minority nationality cadres have been promoted to leading posts at various levels.

In order to fully respect and guarantee the democratic rights of the various minority nationalities to manage their own affairs, some stipulations on enlarging the right of self-government for areas inhabited by minority peoples were added to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted last December. One such provision says that the chairmanship and vice-chairmanships of the standing committee of the people's congress of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall include a citizen or citizens of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned. Another stipulates that the administrative head of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall be a citizen of the nationality, or of one of the nationalities, exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned.

At present, the overwhelming majority of posts mentioned in these stipulations have been filled by officials of minority nationalities in the country's five autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 72 autonomous counties (banners).

According to available statistics, the proportion of minority nationality cadres in the 10 leading prefecture and city organizations in Xinjiang has increased from the original 32.9 per cent to 44.4 per cent after the re-organization of leadership. In the 34 departmental and bureau leading bodies, the portion of minority nationality cadres has increased from 28.3 per cent to 40.3 per cent. Among them, 33 minority cadres have been appointed department or bureau heads or their Party group leaders, accounting for just over half of the total.

In Tibet, there are more than

36,000 cadres of Tibetan and other minority nationalities, making up more than 60 per cent of the total number of cadres. In the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, the proportion of minority nationality cadres far exceeds the proportion of the minority peoples in the total population of the areas concerned.

Training more minority nationality cadres is a key factor in bringing about socialist modernization in areas inhabited by minority peoples. There are now 1.03 million minority nationality cadres in areas where China's minority nationalities exercise regional autonomy. Of them, 30 per cent are scientific and technological personnel. In order to help these cadres fully develop their role in managing the affairs of their own nationalities, the various local authorities have planned to train more minority nationality cadres.

In recent years, China has re-opened the Central South Institute for Nationalities and the Guizhou Institute for Nationalities, which were abolished during the "cultural revolution," and at the same time strengthened the work of eight institutes for nationalities. Beginning from this year, short-term training courses for minority cadres will be changed into regular training.

Xinjiang has sent its young cadres of minority nationalities out to more than 100 institutions of higher learning, Party schools, Communist Youth League schools and cadres' schools throughout the country to study political theory and professional knowledge. Last year Xinjiang trained 10,356 minority nationality cadres in this way.

Tibet has trained 8,200 national minority intellectuals

over the past 32 years. Among them, more than 140 are now associate professors, lecturers, engineers, agrotechnicians and chief physicians.

Beijing accelerates construction of parks

Eleven parks will be expanded or improved, 4 to 5 million trees will be planted and grass will be grown over an area covering 2.5 million square metres of Beijing in the next five years.

Three existing parks around the old temples used by emperors to worship the gods of the sun, moon and earth will be improved. Together with the Temple of Heaven, these parks are located in the east, south, west and north of the city proper. The ancient buildings in the three parks will be renovated and scenic spots reconstructed for visitors.

According to the Beijing municipal plan, a heritage park will be built from the ruins of Yuanmingyuan — Beijing's fabulous old Summer Palace which was burnt down in 1860. Yuanmingyuan, built between 1709 and 1772 in the Qing Dynasty, was the most imposing and beautiful of the imperial gardens. It was destroyed by invading Anglo-French forces. The restoration project began in early August.

The renovation plans for the parks also include the Longtanhu, Xuanwu, Nanyuan, Yuyuantan, Bajiao and Purple Bamboo Parks and Beijing Botanical Garden in the city and suburbs.

Twenty-seven parks in Beijing are now open to the public, as compared with six in the 1950s. But they still cannot accommodate the increasing number of visitors. According to



Pre-school children at the newly planted Tian An Men lawn.

the statistics of the bureau of parks and woods, 14 major parks in Beijing received 61.42 million visitors in 1982. These parks were very crowded during the busy season.

In addition to the construction of these parks, planners have been paying attention to planting trees and lawns throughout the city in recent years. Since 1979 an area covering 2,734 hectares has been forested, and the area for lawns has expanded to 3.71 million square metres. The forested area for organizations, factories and schools is now 7,057 hectares, so that 20 per cent of the city has been covered with greenery. Efforts are being made to increase this rate to 25 per cent in the next five years.

In order to accelerate the forestation work, the Beijing municipal government has appointed experts and scholars as advisers on gardens and parks.

Small gardens on the streets and small parks will be planted with investments from the

masses and with subsidies by the state. People are encouraged to take part in the voluntary maintenance and management of these parks.

Science association founded in Tibet

In early July, Tibet, the remotest and most backward region in China, established its own science and technology association. It is the last of China's provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (except Taiwan) to establish this kind of association.

Xuekang Tudengnima, 62, was elected chairman of the association. He also is vice-chairman of the standing committee of the people's congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region, and is from a noble family.

Members of the association have conducted scientific research projects commensurate with specific local conditions.

For instance, they assisted a comprehensive scientific survey team under the Chinese Academy of Sciences in its multifaceted studies of the formation, historical changes and characteristics of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, the biggest and highest in the world.

Earlier, the Tibet Geological Society and the Tibet Geological Bureau had jointly published *Tibet Geology*, a comprehensive academic journal to print academic papers on strata and structure of the Tibet Plateau and its mineral resources as well as geological studies of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau as a whole.

Some progress also has been made in the study of Tibetan medicine. *The History of Development of Tibetan Medicine* by Qiangba Chilie, director of the Tibetan Medicine Hospital, systematically records the development of Tibetan medicine over the past 1,000 years. The same author also wrote *General Principles of Tibetan Medicine*, *Physiology in Tibetan Medicine*, *Pathology*, *Diagnostics*, *Study of Internal Medicine*, *Gynaecology*, *Paediatrics* and *Surgery*. Some of these works have been used in the teaching of Tibetan medicine.

With a population of 1.9 million, the Tibet Autonomous Region now has a scientific and technological research contingent of 8,000 people, of both Tibetan and Han nationalities. This year, the region has earmarked 70 million yuan for education. In addition, Tibet University is now under construction.

Since 1978, the state has awarded prizes for 21 research

projects by scientific and technological workers in Tibet. The Tibet science and technology association was established after great efforts were made to develop education.

The government of the autonomous region decided early this year to give favourable treatment to scientific workers of various nationalities in Tibet. The scientific workers will

receive subsidies (ranging from 10 to 35 yuan per month) in line with their professional titles and different work places. The subsidies will be larger for those who have worked in Tibet for a long time. Those who are on holidays or are receiving training also will get subsidies. The regional government also will issue prizes of honour to scientific workers who have worked there for long periods.

Chinese leaders on Sino-US relations

Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, met with US Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger on Sept. 28.

Deng said that to develop bilateral relations, it is important to increase contacts and mutual understanding, but it is more important to remove fundamental obstacles and solve substantive matters. There are common grounds between China and the US, he said, but there do exist divergencies which need to be cleared up.

Deng said Sino-US relations had moved through a tortuous course in the past three years. The crux of the matter is the Taiwan issue, he said. Once this issue is resolved, the major obstacle in Sino-US relations will be removed and this will benefit peace and security in Asia and the world, he said.

Weinberger said that he would report to President Reagan what Deng Xiaoping said to him. He also said he believed his China visit would help deepen mutual understanding.

On Sept. 27, Premier Zhao Ziyang told the US Defence Secretary that he welcomed the

recent improvement in Sino-US relations.

Zhao said China attached great importance to developing relations with the US and had made big efforts in this direction.

Weinberger said President Reagan was willing to implement the principles of the US-China joint communique of August 17, 1982.

The US President considers an economically and militarily strong China as important for maintaining world peace, Weinberger said.

Meeting with American journalists covering Weinberger's visit to China on the same day, Premier Zhao said he had accepted an invitation from the US Government to visit the US and President Reagan has said time and again that he is willing to visit China. "It is my hope the exchange of visits will take place next spring," the Premier said.

Asked if China was willing to buy weapons from the United States, he said, "If the United States is willing to sell weapons to us, and if we need them and can afford them, I wouldn't rule out the possibility of buying some weapons."

"We mainly rely on our own efforts in the modernization of our national defence," the Premier said.

"It is simply impossible for a country as large as ours to achieve the modernization of national defence by buying weapons," he added.

On the issue of US arms sales to Taiwan, Zhao said the China-US joint communique of August 17, 1982, provides that the United States should, step by step, reduce and eventually stop its arms sales to Taiwan.

"We hope that the United States will really abide by these principles, as outlined in the communique," he said.

In reply to a question about strategic co-operation between the two countries, the Premier said, "You all know that China follows a foreign policy of independence. We do not attach ourselves to any big power or bloc of powers. In handling international issues, China takes its stance independently on the merits of each case."

Asked about the efforts made by both sides to improve Sino-US relations, Zhao said China had always regarded the issue of technology transfer not just as a simple technical question, but as a question of whether mutual trust could be established between the two countries.

"We welcome the guidelines recently adopted by the US Government for easing restrictions on technology transfer," he said, "but the guidelines are yet to be proved by action."

US Defence Secretary Weinberger came to visit China on Sept. 25. Defence Minister Zhang Aiping said that in his talks with Weinberger, they had discussed issues of common concern in a "friendly, cordial and candid atmosphere."

Wu Xueqian on current world issues

At a press conference he gave for Canadian and American journalists on Sept. 17, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian said he hoped his visit to Canada and the United States will help improve China's amity and co-operation with them.

Sino-Canadian Relations. "With Canada," he said, "our relations have been smooth since the establishment of relations in 1970. Prime Minister Trudeau has played an important part in this, a fact which we will not forget."

Canada has advanced technology and equipment in the fields of agriculture, transportation, telecommunications and energy. China and Canada can increase co-operation in these areas, he said.

Sino-US Relations. Wu said there have been signs of improvement in relations.

In response to a question about the Huguang railway bonds case, Wu said this issue remains unsettled. "China's stand on this question is consistent and unchanged," he said. "Our hiring of lawyers means a challenge to the jurisdiction of the US court, it doesn't mean China's appearance in court. We stick to China's sovereignty immunity."

Sino-Soviet Relations. He said that it is China's sincere hope to improve its relations with all countries. "We hope to remove as soon as possible the three major obstacles in the way of Sino-Soviet relations just as we hope to remove the obstacles in the way of Sino-US relations,

so that our bilateral relations can develop," he added.

Wu listed the three obstacles as Soviet support of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, Soviet aggression against Afghanistan, and Soviet troops stationed along the Sino-Soviet border and in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

Triangular Relations. Asked about his views on the triangular relations involving China, the US and the USSR, Wu said, "Sino-Soviet relations and Sino-US relations are two different things and they cannot be linked together. We are willing to maintain normal relations with the two superpowers on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The basic principle of our foreign policy is independence. In other words, we will neither cling to any big power nor submit to pressure from any big power."

Peace Movement, Disarmament. Wu described as positive the massive demonstrations against the production of nuclear weapons that have swept Canada, the US and Western Europe.

Wu said that China has always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The question now, he said, is that the two superpowers with the biggest nuclear arsenals should first show sincerity in disarmament. In other words, they should take the lead in stopping production and tests of new nuclear weapons and committing themselves to a

drastic destruction of nuclear weapons, he added.

China becomes full member of WEC

China has been admitted as a full member of the World Energy Conference (WEC) at its 12th Congress in New Delhi.

The WEC's decision, approved unanimously by the International Committee of the Congress, entitles the Chinese Member Committee, as the other member states, to be addressed as "the World Energy Conference Member Committee of China." The decision requires Taiwan, previously "the World Energy Conference National Committee of China," to be addressed "the World Energy Conference Member Committee of Taiwan, China."

The WEC has reached agreement with Taiwan that it will not be given the status of a "national committee."

China, Japan sign oil platform pact

China and Japan on Sept. 23 signed a contract for joint production of offshore oil platforms for the Chengbei Oilfield in the Bohai Sea.

The China Offshore Platform Engineering Corp. and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. will undertake the construction of platforms for oil production, living quarters and storage. China's Dalian Shipyard and the Tianjin Xingang Shipyard will subcontract the construction of two platforms.

*Viet Nam***Hanoi challenges United Nations**

ON the eve of the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach sent a letter to some UN member countries seeking their support for Viet Nam's stand on the Kampuchean question at the current UN session. This marks a new round of diplomatic offensives launched by Viet Nam, with the aim of extricating itself from its awkward predicament.

Repudiates UN Resolutions

Thach's letter poses an all-round challenge to all previous UN resolutions on Kampuchea which have demanded total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and an end to the foreign military occupation of Kampuchea. Yet Thach, in his letter, is advocating conditional, "partial withdrawal," saying that only when the "threat from China" is stopped, can Viet Nam "withdraw its troops from Kampuchea." It is, in fact, refusing to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea by using the non-existent "threat from China" as an excuse.

The UN resolutions recognize the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the sole legal government of Kampuchea and support its legitimate seat at the UN. But the letter demands the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea give up its place, and proposes to keep Kampuchea's seat empty, in an attempt to slide the Heng Samrin

puppet regime into the UN one day.

The UN resolutions call on all states to abide by the principles of the UN Charter of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and non-use of force or the threat to use force. However, the letter claims that Viet Nam "has the right to overthrow" the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, preposterously describing the out-and-out aggressive act as similar to the overthrow of the Nazis in 1945 by the allies, when they helped other countries to get rid of fascist rule and establish their own governments.

The UN resolutions call for the convocation of an international conference to seek an all-round political settlement of the Kampuchean issue. Thach's letter, however, tries to legitimize the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea by suggesting "bloc dialogue" between the Indochina states and the ASEAN nations.

In short, the contents of Thach's letter can be summed up in one sentence: Viet Nam is trying to repudiate the UN resolutions altogether. The letter indicates clearly that Viet Nam has so far not budged one inch from its stubborn position of occupying Kampuchea forever and pursuing regional hegemonism, though it constantly tries new tricks and strategies.

As is known to all, the international community has

fought several rounds with the Vietnamese invaders over the Kampuchean question, at the United Nations and outside, since Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea more than four years ago. Reality shows that it is utterly impossible to persuade Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea by accepting and meeting any of Viet Nam's unreasonable demands. Such an attempt can only help make Viet Nam more aggressive than ever before.

United Struggle

Facts have shown that the reliable and effective way is for the international community to strengthen its unity and persevere in its struggle. At the past four UN General Assembly sessions, from the 34th in 1979 to the 37th last year, resolutions demanding the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea were adopted by overwhelming majority votes, the schemes of the Vietnamese and their supporters were frustrated, and the legitimate seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations has been safeguarded, thanks to the united struggle by the majority of UN member countries. At the same time, many countries try in one way or another to support the Kampuchean people's struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, including exerting economic, political and diplomatic pressures on Viet Nam. All these upset Viet Nam's military plans and made it more and more isolated in the world.

At the current UN General Assembly session, the international community will have a new trial of strength with the Vietnamese over the Kampuchean issue. It is hoped that

Karmal's Planes Violate Pakistan Airspace

ON Sept. 18 and 19, Soviet-made Mig-21 jets of the Afghan air force violated Pakistan airspace 10 times, dropping bombs which killed and injured innocent people. This is a new crime committed by the Karmal regime. Pakistan Foreign Secretary Niaz Naik said, "Between the period of Aug. 1 to Sept. 17, there were 13 air intrusions. The incidents of the last two days raised the number to 23." The Pakistan Government issued a strong protest against the Kabul regime.

The Karmal regime dares to be so savage because it has been encouraged and supported by the Soviet Union. In recent years the Soviet Union has escalated its military presence in Afghanistan and made desperate raids on areas controlled by Afghan guerrillas, in an attempt to destroy the Afghan resistance forces. At the same time, it has been using the indirect talks sponsored by the United Nations to try to force Pakistan to recognize its occupation of Afghanistan as a fait accompli and also recognize the puppet Karmal regime. However, all its plots have failed.

Recently the Karmal regime has intensified its armed provocations against Pakistan. Obviously, these provocative acts were designed not only to prevent Pakistan from supporting the Afghan people in their struggle against Soviet aggression, but also to exert pressure on Pakistan with the threat of armed intervention, in a bid to make it change its stand on the political settlement of the Afghanistan question. However, the Karmal regime's intentions have been defeated.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its willingness to seek a political settlement to the Afghanistan question, but it has stubbornly refused to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. This has fully proved how deceptive its reconciliation gestures are. The recent provocations by the Karmal regime against Pakistan have also proved this.

— Ren Yan

the current session will carry on its united struggle, uphold justice and upset the new schemes of the Vietnamese ag-

gressors, to make even greater contributions to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

— Tang Tianri

Argentina

Political situation before elections

THE Argentine general elections to be held on October 30 this year are the first since the military took power in 1976. This is a major step forward in Argentina's democratic process and will have an impact on the political situation in South America.

There are more than 300 political parties in Argentina.

Although the various parties have nominated 11 presidential candidates, all the signs show that the votes will be concentrated on Italo Luder, candidate of the largest party, the Justicialists, and the Radical Civilian Union candidate, Raul Alfonsín.

The situation in Argentina leading up to the general elections is still unstable. Industrial

production has not been recovering well, debts are increasing and inflation has risen. In the first seven months of this year the cost of living went up 128.5 per cent. In the year ending last June the price of commodities rose 310 per cent. Foreign debts have increased to nearly US\$40,000 million from \$38,700 million last year. The number of unemployed has passed one million, because many factories are not operating at full capacity.

Turbulent Situation

The gloomy economic situation has affected Argentina's political stability. In the seven years since 1976, the Argentine Government has seen five new presidents and frequent reshuffles. Two presidents held office only for three weeks.

After the coup d'état in 1976, the military government dissolved the Congress, forbade the activities of the political parties and suppressed the Left-wing forces. All these actions aroused dissatisfaction from many quarters.

Ever since the war over the Malvinas (Falklands) failed in 1982, calls for the military to hand over power and restore the constitution have become louder and louder. In view of this situation, the Reynaldo Bignone government agreed to restore the activities of the political parties. A multi-party committee comprised of the Justicialist Party, the Radical Civilian Union, the Christian Democratic Party, the Movement of the Integrated Development and the Intransigent Party worked jointly to negotiate with the military, demanding that the general elections be held no later than in 1983. The military government had no other choice, and at the beginning of this year it announced that the national general elections would

be held on October 30, with power reverting to the civilian government on January 30, 1984.

However, the economic situation has worsened and strikes and demonstrations have followed one after another. In mid-August nearly 200,000 staff members of the national banks, 30,000 staff members of the judicial departments, 45,000 telephone workers and 80,000 railway workers held strikes. They demanded wage increases and protested rising prices. On September 1 more than 400,000 teachers went on strike. There is widespread concern that the constant social turbulence will affect the success of the general elections.

Under mediation initiated by the Roman Catholic Church, the Argentine Government formulated emergency economic measures with the trade unions and the capitalists. The minimum wage was increased by 400 pesos a month from September 1; every staff member would also be provided with a subsidy of 800 pesos. Electricity and gas prices were frozen and sales tax on medicine and food was reduced. All these measures are aimed at defusing the strikes and unrest and guaranteeing the success of the general elections.

Big Parties' Rivalry

Since the Justicialist Party chose its presidential candidate, the campaigning of the general elections has entered into a tense period. The Justicialist Party is another name for the Peronist Movement, which was begun by General Juan Domingo Peron 40 years ago. This party tends towards extreme

nationalism and pursues Church philosophy, and has been in power several times. It has strong influence among the trade unions and the people. It has now formed an alliance with seven parties (including the Communist Party and Conservative Party) called the National Liberation Alliance, in an attempt to contend with the Radical Civilian Union.

The Radical Civilian Union is an old party with 100 years of history and has also been in power many times. In the past various factions within this party struggled for power. In

the end, the reformist faction headed by Raul Alfonsín won. Today this party enjoys an atmosphere of unity and is ready to contest the election with the Justicialist Party.

Because of the unstable political and economic situation in Argentina on the eve of the general elections, the various sides have adopted a prudent attitude and are avoiding any accidental social disorder which might affect the general elections and interrupt their hard-won democratic process.

— Liu Xiaolu

East Africa

Moving towards better relations

IN recent months there have been distinct signs of an improvement in relations between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda — members of the former East African Community (EAC), which was founded in December 1967 but collapsed in June 1977.

This trend for better relations began in June this year during the 19th Summit of the Organization of African Unity held in Addis Ababa, when the Presidents of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda had separate talks on improving their relations. This was followed by Tanzanian Prime Minister Edward Sokoine's call in July to reopen diplomatic and trade links with Kenya, establish liaison offices and sign trade protocols, as a first step towards full diplomatic relations.

Responding to the Tanzanian proposals, the Kenyan Foreign

Ministry's Permanent Secretary, Japheth Shamalla, said his government was prepared to enter into any discussion on the matter without preconditions.

On September 8, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi sent a message to Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere reaffirming Kenya's wish to normalize relations with Tanzania.

On September 14, Tanzanian Prime Minister Sokoine declared that his country was ready to revive the EAC if the two other former partners were also ready.

Kenya's Foreign Minister Robert Ouko issued a statement on Sept. 16 welcoming Tanzania's moves to normalize relations with Kenya and promote co-operation among the three East African nations.

The economic and political differences which led to the

break up of the EAC also resulted in the closure of Tanzania's border with Kenya and the failure to settle the division of assets and liabilities of the community after its collapse. The relations between Kenya and Tanzania became even more tense in August last year when the latter granted political asylum to Kenyan rebels after an abortive coup in Kenya.

However, as the internal situation in the three East African states calmed down, it became more evident that common political and economic interests call for renewal of their co-operation in one form or another. For example, Tanzania used to be Kenya's second largest export market. Kenya's exports to Tanzania rose from US\$29 million in 1965 to \$67 million in 1976. But with the collapse of the EAC, exports fell to \$5.7 million in 1978. Similarly, Tanzania's exports to Kenya rose from \$7.88 million in 1966 to \$26.1 million in 1976, but fell to \$0.2 million in 1979.

With the closure of the Tanzania-Kenya border, the Zambian market was virtually cut

off for Kenya. Border closure also affected the tourist industry of both countries. The emergence of the preferential trade area of East, Central and Southern Africa as well as the prospect of joint oil exploration of Lake Victoria also press the need for the normalizing relations of the three East African countries.

Recently, Tanzania and Uganda signed an agreement to set up a joint commission for co-operation between the two countries. A joint ministerial consultative committee has also been set up between Kenya and Uganda to promote co-operation.

In an editorial entitled "Hopeful Signs of a New Era in East Africa," the *Daily Standard of Kenya* said the "three forward-looking leaders (of East Africa) will certainly be honoured by future generations and hailed by the present one if they succeed in their newly found 'Think East African' dictum."

—Ye Zhixiong

more than \$2,470 and more than \$3,700 a year in income tax.

The new budget contains certain measures beneficial to business, such as exempting new enterprises from the profit tax during their first years. But, as business is heavily burdened with skyrocketing social and unemployment funds, these measures are considered likely to be of little help in promoting investment and realizing an early national economic upturn.

Unemployment may also become a more serious when the austerity is implemented. Economists predict that the number of jobless people will reach about 2.2 million at the end of this year, and 2.5 million by the end of 1984.

A lower inflation rate and smaller trade deficits are the two main objectives of the Socialist government. In the past two years, the government has taken various measures to increase social welfare funds so as to stimulate social demand and promote domestic production. Due to a number of internal and external factors, however, this inflationary policy has not only failed to be effective but has made the economy more troubled, with prices rising, the trade deficit reaching a record high and debts mounting.

For all these reasons, the government had no choice but to adopt an austerity policy in 1983 and decide to continue it next year. According to the 1984 budget, the government is determined to reduce the inflation rate, running at 8 per cent in 1983, to 5 per cent in 1984.

In view of the current economic situation in France, it will be difficult for the government to reach its goal in bringing down the inflation rate, though it may be somewhat reduced.

—Pan Yongming

France

Another austerity programme

THE French Government has adopted its 1984 budget featuring further cutbacks in public spending and income tax increases. It shows that the Socialist government is determined to continue its austerity policy in 1984.

The budget envisages a growth rate of 1 per cent for 1984 as compared with this year's zero growth. This means that the economy will remain sluggish for the third year since the Socialists came to power in 1981.

The budget limits growth of government spending to 6.2 per cent, the lowest rate in ten years. The deficit in 1984 will be limited, as in 1983, to 3 per cent of the gross domestic product, or US\$15,600 million compared with a projected deficit of \$14,600 million in 1983.

Another significant characteristic of the budget is an increase in individual income tax and the introduction of surtaxes of 5 per cent and 8 per cent respectively for people paying

On the Reform of the System of Party And State Leadership

(August 18, 1980)

Deng Xiaoping

Comrades,

This enlarged meeting is mainly devoted to discussion on the reform of the system of Party and state leadership and the related questions.

I

Changing the leadership of the State Council will be a major item on the agenda of the forthcoming Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. This change will cover the following: Comrade Hua Guofeng will no longer hold the concurrent post of Premier, which will be assumed by Comrade Zhao Ziyang; Comrades Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Wang Zhen and I will no longer serve concurrently as Vice-Premiers so that more energetic comrades can take over; Comrade Wang Renzhong will no longer serve concurrently as Vice-Premier so that he can concentrate his effort on his important job in the Party; and Comrade Chen Yonggui asked to be relieved of his post of Vice-Premier and the Party Central Committee has decided to accept his request. Moreover, following consultations with the organizations concerned, there will also be suggestions for some personnel changes for the posts of Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and of Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. These forthcoming changes have repeatedly been discussed by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, and they will be incorporated into a formal proposal the Central Committee is to submit to the forthcoming sessions of the

This speech to an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was adopted on August 31, 1980, by the Political Bureau after discussion. Here is an unofficial translation

NPC and the CPPCC National Committee for discussion and decision.

What are the reasons for the above considerations of the Party Central Committee regarding the changes in the leadership of the State Council?

First of all, because it is inappropriate to have overconcentration of power which hinders the implementation of the socialist democratic system and the Party's democratic centralism and impedes the development of socialist construction and of collective wisdom. Overconcentration of power is liable to give rise to arbitrary rule by individuals at the expense of collective leadership, and it constitutes an important cause of bureaucratism under the present circumstances.

Secondly, it is inappropriate to have a proliferation of concurrent and deputy posts. There is a limit to one's knowledge, experience and energy. If one holds too many concurrent posts here and there, he will find it difficult to come to grips with the problems in his work and, more importantly, it will be difficult for other more suitable comrades to take up leading posts. Too many deputy posts will lead to low efficiency and contribute to bureaucratism and formalism.

Thirdly, it is time for us to distinguish between the responsibilities of the Party and the government and stop substituting the responsibilities of the former for those of the latter. Those principal leading comrades of the Party Central Committee who will be relieved of their concurrent government posts can concentrate their energy on our Party work, on matters concerning the Party's line and guiding principles and policies. This will help strengthen and improve the unified leadership of the Central Committee, establish an effective work system for governments at the various levels, from the

top to the grass roots, and do a better job within the scope of government functions and powers.

Fourthly, we must take the long-term interest into account and strive to smoothen succession of the leadership. As precious assets of the Party and state, the older comrades shoulder heavy responsibilities. Their primary task now is to help the Party organizations find worthy successors to our cause. This is a solemn duty of theirs. It is a measure of great strategic significance for us to ensure the continuity and stability of the correct leadership of our Party and government by having the younger comrades take the "frontline" posts while the older comrades give them the necessary advice and support in their work.

These considerations of the Party Central Committee are for carrying out the necessary reform of the system of Party and state leadership. The Central Committee has already taken the first step by deciding at its Fifth Plenary Session of February this year to set up the Secretariat. The Secretariat of the Central Committee has achieved remarkable success ever since its inception. The proposed changes in the leadership of the State Council represents a first step in improving the system of government leadership. In order to meet the requirements of socialist modernization and of the democratization of the political life of the Party and state and to promote what is advantageous and do away with what is disadvantageous, there needs to be reform in many aspects of the system of Party and state leadership and of other systems. We should regularly sum up historical experience, carry out intensive surveys and studies and pool the correct views so as to continue the reform vigorously and systematically, progressing from the central level down.

II

The purpose of reforming the system of Party and state leadership and other systems is to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and speed up the cause of China's modernization.

To give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, we should, now and for some time to come, work hard mainly to achieve the following three objectives: (1) In the economic sphere, we should rapidly develop the social productive forces and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life. (2) In the political sphere, we should fully practise peo-

ple's democracy; ensure that all the people truly enjoy the right to manage, through various effective forms, state affairs and particularly local state power at the grass-roots level and the various enterprises and institutions, and that they truly enjoy all the other rights of citizens; perfect the revolutionary legal system; correctly handle contradictions among the people; crack down on all hostile forces and criminal activities; and arouse the enthusiasm of the people and consolidate and develop the political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness. (3) To realize the above-mentioned objectives, organizationally there is the urgent need to train, discover, promote and employ a large number of younger cadres who adhere to the four cardinal principles¹ and have professional knowledge for socialist modernization.

In the drive for socialist modernization, our objectives are, economically, to catch up with the developed capitalist countries, politically to create a democracy which is at a higher level and more substantial than that of capitalist countries, and to bring up more qualified people than those countries do. These three objectives may take different lengths of time to achieve. But as a big socialist country, we can and must obtain them. Therefore, the merits of the Party and state institutions should be judged on the basis of whether or not they help us advance towards the three objectives.

Now I would like to discuss at some length the question of organizationally giving play to the superiority of socialism and of consciously renewing the leading personnel in Party and government organs at various levels so as to bring more and more younger and more professionally competent persons to leading positions.

Over the years we have failed to boldly promote and use, while upholding the four cardinal principles, younger comrades who have both professional knowledge and practical experience. During the "cultural revolution," a large number of our cadres were persecuted by Lin Biao and the gang of four, and our cadre work suffered a great deal. And for that reason, we face the problem of most of our present leading personnel at various levels being too old. The question of training qualified personnel is mainly one of organizational line. We need to bring up large numbers of qualified persons. Our major task at present, however, is to discover and promote — and even promote by circumventing certain regulations — fine young and middle-aged cadres. This is a press-

ing need of our country's modernization drive rather than something born out of the caprices of some veteran comrades.

Some comrades worry that, in promoting young and middle-aged cadres, some factionalists and even some elements who indulged in beating, smashing and looting during the "cultural revolution" might be selected. Such worry is not entirely groundless because at present the leading bodies in some localities and departments have not yet been well consolidated, so certain factionalists may seize the opportunity of promoting young and middle-aged cadres to upgrade their own followers. As I said in my speech of January 16 this year, we must not underestimate the remnant forces of the gang of four in the organizational and ideological fields, and that we must be sober-minded in this respect. Those who rose to prominence by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like in "rebellion," those who are strongly factionalist in their ideas and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting must never be promoted: Not a single one. And any of them who have already been promoted must be resolutely removed from the leading bodies. They will likely bring us unpredictable harm if, failing to heighten our vigilance, we allow them—even a few of them—to occupy leading posts, again engage in double-dealing, form illicit ties with one another, and conceal themselves in our ranks.

Some comrades argue that it is better to promote cadres one step at a time. In fact, I said this in 1975 when I expressed my disapproval of the erroneous practice prevalent during the "cultural revolution." We shall never repeat the mistake of promoting cadres so quickly that they rise as if they were on a rocket or helicopter. Generally speaking, promoting cadres by steps means that they should go through a process of working among the masses, learning their profession, accumulating experience and undergoing the necessary tests. But we cannot for ever stick to the old concept of "staircase." We cannot now limit ourselves to promoting cadres by having them step up from the district level to the county, the prefectural and the provincial level in that order, as the present cadre system of the Party and government requires. All trades and professions should have their own "staircases" as well as different categories of positions and professional titles. With the advance of our construction, we shall work out new requirements and methods for the promotion of cadres

and the use of qualified personnel in the different trades and professions. In the future, so long as one passes the required examinations, he should be given the appropriate position and professional title. Only by doing away with the outdated concept of "staircase" and creating new ones suited to the new situation and tasks can we boldly bypass the conventions in promoting cadres. We must not, after all, just pay lip service to the steps of promotion, either old or new. We must see to it that the really outstanding young and middle-aged cadres are promoted in good time. An overly hasty approach to this matter is inadvisable, but going about it too slowly will delay our modernization programme. Has it not already been delayed long enough? Extraordinary candidates should be provided with a sort of light ladder so that they may come up directly, skipping some steps. It is for the purpose of making room for the young and middle-aged cadres that we have proposed to reduce concurrent posts and overcome excessive centralization of power. How can they come up the staircase if all the steps are occupied, or if they are not allowed to fill vacancies?

Some comrades worry that the young people may be too inexperienced to qualify for leading positions. As I see it, they need not worry. When we say a person is experienced or inexperienced, we are only talking in relative terms. To be frank, is it not true that even veteran cadres may make mistakes due to lack of experience in dealing with the new problems in our modernization drive? Yes, younger people generally have less experience. But let us think back, comrades. Is it not a fact that many of us were in our twenties or thirties when we first became senior cadres and were given rather important tasks? We should admit that the young and middle-aged comrades of today are no less knowledgeable than we were in the past. It is due to objective conditions that they have not been adequately tested in struggle and have not gained adequate experience as leaders. After all, when one does not hold a particular position, he is not to blame for lack of concern for it. The young and middle-aged comrades will gradually become competent when they have been placed in such positions. Most of the 7-8 million people graduated from universities, colleges and vocational secondary schools since liberation are of worker or peasant origin and have had the experience of working for more than 10 years. Some young and middle-aged cadres, despite their lack of college or vocational secondary

education, have practical experience. Their level of education and knowledge is relatively low, but many of them can surely become red and expert personnel, provided they are given systematic training and education. Furthermore, there are numerous young and middle-aged people who have become qualified personnel through diligent independent study. Even among the educated youth who have settled in the rural areas, quite a few have acquired special skills by immersing themselves among the masses and studying hard on their own. As a matter of fact, many young and middle-aged cadres have become the backbone force in various fields of work. They have a better understanding of the masses and the actual situation than those cadres who are far removed from the grass roots. It is mainly these young and middle-aged cadres whom we rely on in much of our work. They have no power to make decisions, however, because they have not been duly promoted. Therefore, they cannot but keep asking for instructions from above. This is a major cause of our bureaucratism. In short, we must never underestimate this big contingent of young and middle-aged cadres. Many of them are politically and ideologically recommendable and are not involved in factionalism, and they possess a certain amount of professional knowledge. So why should we not select and use them by discarding the conventional rules? In some enterprises and other units, cadres who were elected by the masses or who volunteered to hold leading posts have achieved much in a short period and proved more competent than cadres appointed from above. Is this not sufficient to prompt us to think the matter over? Qualified young and middle-aged cadres are to be found everywhere. For years, they disapproved of the evil doings of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk in the "cultural revolution" and boycotted them, actively or passively. They have made a good political showing and are professionally competent and willing to take up tough jobs. Such people can be found in all trades, professions, areas and units. The point is that we have failed to discover and promote them. As for those people who are well-trained but who, for a time, were misled by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the like and made some mistakes, we should not forsake them if they have definitely realized their mistakes and changed their attitude. More than a few of our comrades limit their vision to people with whom they are familiar and make their choices for promotion only from among these people instead of selecting the best

by going deep among the broad masses. This, too, is a sort of bureaucratism.

We must draw lessons from the "cultural revolution." At the same time, we must be soberly aware of the enormous task of modernization confronting our country, and of the fact that a great many of our cadres are not up to its requirements. We must resolutely overcome short-sightedness which prevents us from looking at things from a long-term point of view. Now that we have correct ideological, political and organizational lines, it is entirely possible for us to promote to leading positions a great number of fine young and middle-aged persons so that our cause is assured of successors who are even better than their predecessors — we can do this provided we work boldly and discreetly, conduct thorough investigation and study, and extensively solicit opinions from the masses.

Comrade Chen Yun said that we should put equal stress on political integrity and professional competence when selecting cadres. By political integrity he meant principally adherence to the socialist road and the leadership of the Party. With this as prerequisite, he added, we should see that the ranks of our cadres are younger in average age, better educated and professionally qualified. Moreover, Comrade Chen Yun said that the promotion and employment of such cadres should be institutionalized. These views of his are very good. Many comrades pay little attention to our cadres becoming better educated and acquiring professional knowledge, in addition to their failing to take the necessary measures to lower their average age. This is yet another evil result of the protracted "Left" ideas on the question of the intellectuals.

The current problem is that the existing organizational system as well as the way of thinking of quite a few cadres is counterproductive with regard to the selection and use of qualified persons badly needed for our modernization drive. We hope that Party committees and the departments of organization at all levels will make drastic changes in this area, resolutely emancipate the minds of people, overcome all obstacles, break away from old conventions and unhesitatingly reform the outmoded organizational and personnel systems. We also hope that they will exert great effort in training, discovering excellent persons and employing them by overcoming old conventions, and firmly fight against any move aimed at repressing these people and ruining their talent.

After the many tests in the past decade or more, the political attitudes of our young and middle-aged comrades should be clear to both the leadership and the rank and file. With veteran comrades still around, we should be able to select the right cadres if we combine the efforts of both the leaders and the masses. We should, of course, proceed with this work step by step, but definitely not at too slow a pace. If we should fail to seize the present opportunity but try to solve this problem when the veterans are all gone, then we shall find it too late and much more difficult. For us elder comrades, that would be a major historical mistake.

III

Some of our specific Party and state systems in current use are plagued by quite a few maladies which impede — and even seriously impede — the manifestation of the superiority of socialism. Unless there is a conscientious reform of them, we can hardly expect to meet the urgent needs of China's modernization programme and we are liable to seriously divorce ourselves from the broad masses.

As far as the leadership and cadre systems of our Party and state are concerned, the major maladies are bureaucratism, overcentralization of power, the patriarchal way of doing things, life-long tenure of leading posts and various kinds of privileges.

Bureaucratism remains a major prevailing issue that tarnishes the political life of our Party and state. Its harmful manifestations consist mainly in standing high above the masses; abusing power; divorcing oneself from the reality and the masses; putting up a facade; indulging in empty talk; sticking to a rigid way of thinking; following conventions; overstaffing administrative organs; being dilatory, inefficient and irresponsible; failing to keep one's word; passing documents round without solving problems; shifting responsibility on to others; and even assuming grand airs as bureaucrats, reprimanding others all too often, attacking others in revenge, suppressing democracy, deceiving one's superiors and subordinates, being arbitrary and despotic, practising favouritism, offering bribes, participating in corrupt practices in violation of the law, and so on. All this has reached intolerable dimensions

both in our domestic affairs and international relations

Bureaucratism is an age-old, complicated historical phenomenon. Apart from sharing the common characteristics of the other types of bureaucratism known in the past, bureaucratism as it now exists in our country has characteristics of its own. It differs from both the bureaucratism of old China and that prevailing in the capitalist countries. It is closely related to our highly centralized management systems in the economic, political, cultural and social fields, which we have long regarded as essential for the socialist system and the system of planned management. Our leading organs at various levels have taken charge of many matters which they should not and cannot handle or which they cannot manage effectively. Given certain necessary stipulations, these matters could have been handled easily if they had been dealt with really according to the principle of democratic centralism by the enterprises, institutions and communities at the grass-roots level. But difficulties have arisen because all these matters have been referred to the leading organs and central departments of the Party and government. And no one is omnipotent and can tackle all these onerous and unfamiliar jobs. This can be said to be one of the general causes of the bureaucratism peculiar to us today. Another cause of our bureaucratism is that, in the leading bodies of our Party and government organizations and of our various enterprises and institutions, there has long been a lack of strict administrative rules and regulations and a system of personal responsibility from top to bottom. There has also been a lack of strict and explicit terms of reference for each organization or individual, so that there are no rules and regulations to go by and most people are often unable to independently and responsibly handle things, big or small, which they should; they can only busy themselves all day long with making reports to and seeking instructions from the higher organizations, and writing comments on documents and passing them round. Some people who are seriously afflicted by selfish departmentalism even engage in endlessly shifting the responsibility upon others and vying with one another for power. What is more, we have no regular methods to recruit, reward and punish cadres and for cadres to retire, resign or drop out. They have "iron rice bowls" whether they do their work well or poorly. They can only be employed but not discharged, promoted but not demoted. Inevitably this leads to overstaffing and too

many administrative levels and deputy and unsubstantial posts, all of which, in turn, foster the growth of bureaucracy. Therefore, it is necessary to radically reform these systems. Of course, bureaucracy is also related to one's way of thinking, but this cannot be solved without first reforming the systems themselves. That is why we achieved little in spite of our repeated struggle against bureaucracy in the past. A lot of work has to be done to solve the above-mentioned problems with the various systems, including education and ideological work. And all this must be done, for otherwise it will be impossible for us to make substantial progress in our economic and other work.

Overcentralization of power means inappropriate and indiscriminate centralization of all power in Party committees. This is done in the name of strengthening centralized Party leadership, and it is often the case that the power of a Party committee is in the hands of a few secretaries, especially its first secretary, who directs and decides everything. Thus centralized Party leadership is often turned into leadership by individuals. This problem exists, in varying degrees, in the leading bodies at all levels throughout the country. Overcentralization of power in the hands of one individual or a few people means that most functionaries have no decision-making power while the few people having power are overburdened with work. This inevitably leads to bureaucracy and various kinds of mistakes, and inevitably impairs the democratic life, collective leadership, democratic centralism and division of labour with individual responsibilities in the Party and government organizations at all levels. This phenomenon is due to the influence of feudal autocracy in Chinese history and due to the tradition of a high degree of centralization of power in the hands of individual leaders as practised in the work of the Parties of various countries during the period of the Communist International. In the past we repeatedly over-emphasized centralism and unification in Party work, and overemphasized the need to combat decentralism and assertion of independence. Seldom did we emphasize the need for necessary decentralization and the decision-making power of the lower organizations, and seldom did we oppose overcentralization of power in the hands of some individuals. We tried several times to divide power between the central and local authorities, but this did not involve the definition of the terms of reference of the Party organization as distinct from those of

the government, economic and public organizations. I do not mean that we need not emphasize centralism and unification in Party work, that it is wrong to emphasize these two points in all circumstances, or that there is no need to oppose decentralism and assertion of independence. The point is that we have gone too far and, moreover, that we do not yet have a clear idea of what decentralism and assertion of independence are. Now that ours has become a ruling party in the whole country and, especially, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, the Party's central task is different from that in the past. In face of the extremely strenuous and complicated task of socialist construction, overcentralization of power is becoming more and more incompatible with the development of our socialist cause. Protracted failure to adequately understand this was one important cause of the "cultural revolution," for which we paid a high price. There should be no further delay in finding a solution to this problem.

Besides overcentralization of power in the hands of individuals, patriarchal ways within the revolutionary ranks place individuals above the organization which is thus bent to serve as their tool. Patriarchal ways are an outmoded social phenomenon which has existed for a very long time and done great harm to the Party. Chen Duxiu,² Wang Ming³ and Zhang Guotao⁴ were all wedded to patriarchal ways. During the period from the Zunyi Meeting of 1935 of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee to the socialist transformation, the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong always paid due attention to collective leadership and democratic centralism, so that democracy within our Party was quite normal. Unfortunately, this fine tradition has not been upheld, nor has it been incorporated into a strict and perfect system. For example, when major issues are discussed within the Party, very often there are no adequate democratic deliberations. Hasty decisions are made by one or a few individuals, and there is seldom voting according to the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority. This shows that democratic centralism has not yet become a strict system. Since the counter-criticism in 1958 of the criticism of rash advance⁵ and since the 1959 campaign against "Right deviation,"⁶ democratic life in our Party and state became increasingly abnormal, and there has been a continuous growth of such patriarchal ways as letting only

one person have the say and make important decisions, practising the cult of personality and placing individuals above the organization. Lin Biao propagated the "peak theory," saying that Chairman Mao's words were supreme instructions. Such a theory was widespread in the whole Party, army and country. After the smashing of the gang of four, the personality cult was continued for a period of time. Commemorative activities in honour of some other leaders sometimes also smacked of the cult of personality. Recently, the Party Central Committee issued an instruction on some questions regarding the necessity to tone down publicity of the individuals, pointing out that those improper ways of commemoration not only mean extravagance and waste and lead to divorce from the masses, but also suggest that history is made by a few individuals, which does not help the spread of Marxism inside and outside the Party and detracts from the elimination of the feudal and bourgeois ideological influences. Containing some stipulations for correcting the above defects, this instruction is a very important document. Here, I must also mention that, after 1958, residential quarters were built in many places for Comrade Mao Zedong and some other central leading comrades, and that, after the downfall of the gang of four, work was started on some above-ground projects in Zhongnanhai. All this had a very bad influence and produced tremendous waste. Furthermore, a most inappropriate practice still prevails in connection with some high-ranking cadres, which is that they are given lavish dinners and traffic is closed and great publicity made wherever they go. All the above-mentioned practices, which alienate us from the masses, must be banned at all levels from the central down.

Many places and units have people who act like patriarchs with unlimited power. All others must be absolutely obedient and even personally attached to them. One of our organizational principles is subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher ones, which means that a lower organization must implement the decisions and instructions from a higher one. This does not, however, preclude the equal relations among Party comrades. All Party members, whether leading cadres or rank-and-file comrades, should treat each other on an equal footing, equally enjoy all rights that are theirs and fulfil all duties incumbent upon them. Comrades at the higher levels should not imperiously order about those at lower levels, and they certainly must not make them do what is in violation of the Party Constitution or state

laws. No one should fawn on his superiors or be obedient and "loyal" to them in an unprincipled way. The relationship between a superior and subordinate must not be one between cat and mouse as repeatedly criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong, nor as one between monarch and subject or between father and son, nor as one among members of a faction, as prevalent in the old society. The above-described patriarchal ways contribute to the grave mistakes some comrades commit. Even the formation of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing was inseparable from the remnant patriarchal ways within the Party. In a word, it would be impossible to practise inner-Party democracy and socialist democracy without the thorough elimination of such ways.

The life-long tenure of leading posts relates to feudal influences and the protracted absence of proper regulations in our Party for the retirement and dismissal of cadres. The question of retirement did not arise during the period of revolutionary wars when we were still young, nor in the 1950s when we were in the prime of life. But it was unwise of us not to have approached this problem in due time afterwards. Meanwhile, it should be acknowledged that this problem could not have been solved, or completely solved, under the historical conditions prevailing then. In the draft Party Constitution discussed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it was proposed that the life-long tenure of leading posts be abolished. As we see it now, this provision needs further revision and supplement. What is essential is to improve the systems of election, recruitment, appointment, removal, assessment, impeachment and rotation of cadres and, in the light of specific conditions, work out appropriate and explicit regulations for the terms of office and retirement of leading cadres of all categories and at all levels (including those elected, appointed or engaged). No leading cadre should hold any office indefinitely.

During the "cultural revolution," Lin Biao and the gang of four went out of their way in seeking privileges and thus brought great suffering to the masses. At present, there are still some cadres who, regarding themselves as masters rather than public servants of the people, use their positions to seek personal perquisites and privileges. This has aroused strong resentment on the part of the masses and tarnished the Party's prestige. If this is not set right determinedly, there is bound to be degeneration

in the ranks of our cadres. The privileges we oppose today are the political and economic rights not provided for by law or the existing regulations. Privilege-seeking indicates that the remnant feudal influences have yet to be eliminated. We inherited from old China more of a tradition of feudal autocracy than of democratic legality. What is more, in the post-liberation years we did not consciously draw up systematic rules and regulations to safeguard the people's democratic rights. Our legal system is far from perfect and has not received due attention. Privileges are sometimes restricted, criticized and attacked, but at other times they are allowed to increase again. To eradicate privileges, we must first tackle both the ideological problems and problems relating to rules and regulations. All citizens are equal before the law and the existing rules and regulations, and all Party members are equal before the Party Constitution and discipline. Everyone has equal rights and duties prescribed by law, and no one may gain advantages at others' expense or violate the law. Whoever violates the law must be subjected to investigation by public security organs and be brought to justice by judicial organs according to law. No one is allowed to interfere with the enforcement of law, and no one who breaks the law shall go unpunished. No one may violate the Party Constitution or discipline, and whoever does violate them shall be subjected to disciplinary actions. No one is allowed to interfere with the enforcement of Party discipline, and no one who does violate Party discipline shall be allowed to escape disciplinary actions. Only when the above are realized in earnest and with determination can such problems as seeking privileges and violating the law and discipline be thoroughly solved. There must be a system of mass supervision so that the masses and ordinary Party members can supervise the cadres, especially the leading cadres. The people have the right to expose, accuse, impeach, replace and recall according to law all those who seek personal perquisites and privileges and refuse to change their ways despite criticism and education. The people have the right to demand that these persons pay for what they have unlawfully taken, and that they be punished according to law or through disciplinary actions. Regulations must be worked out for the terms of reference, political treatment, remuneration and well-being of cadres at all levels. Here, the most important thing is for the special organizations to exercise impartial and undeterred supervision.

It is true that the various errors we made in the past had something to do with the way of thinking and style of work of some leaders. But it had even more to do with the problems in our organizational and work systems. Sound systems in these respects can stop bad people from running unbridled while poor ones may hamper good people in performing good deeds to the best of their ability or, in certain cases, may even cause them to go in the opposite direction. Even so great a man as Comrade Mao Zedong was influenced to a serious degree by some inappropriate systems so that great misfortune was brought upon the Party, the state and himself. If today we still do not set about the task of improving the socialist system, people will ask why it cannot solve problems which its capitalist counterpart can. Such a question by way of comparison may suffer from one-sidedness, but we must not just dismiss it on account of that. Stalin did things that seriously undermined the socialist legal system, which Comrade Mao Zedong once said could never have happened in Western countries like Britain, France and the United States. Although Comrade Mao Zedong was aware of this, he did not solve in practice the problems in the leadership system. This, together with some other reasons, led to the decade of catastrophe during the "cultural revolution." Here is a most profound lesson for us to draw. I do not mean that the individuals concerned should not have their share of responsibility, but that the problems in the leadership and organizational systems are of a more fundamental and lasting nature and, to a greater degree, concern the overall interests and the stability of the situation. Here is a question which deserves great attention from the whole Party insofar as it has a close bearing on whether our Party and state will change political colour.

Some serious problems which occurred in the past might crop up again in the days to come if there is no resolute reform to eliminate the maladies in our existing systems. Only when these maladies are removed through planned, systematic, resolute and thorough reforms will the people trust our leadership, our Party and socialism, will our cause be full of promise.

While discussing the maladies in the systems of our Party and state leadership, we cannot but touch upon the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. The resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, which is now being drafted,

will incorporate a systematic exposition of Mao Zedong Thought and a fairly comprehensive assessment of his merits and demerits, including criticism of his mistakes during the "cultural revolution." Being thoroughgoing materialists, we Communists can only affirm what should be affirmed and negate what should be negated in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong rendered immortal service to our Party, our country and our people throughout his life. His contributions are primary and his mistakes secondary. It is not a materialist attitude to avoid mentioning his mistakes because of his contributions. It is not a materialist attitude, either, to negate his contributions because of his mistakes. The "cultural revolution" was a mistake and failure because it fully ran counter to the scientific tenets of Mao Zedong Thought. These scientific tenets, which have been tested and proved to be correct through long years of practice, not only guided us to victory in the past but will remain our guiding ideology in our protracted struggle in the future. It is incorrect and against the fundamental interests of the Chinese people to doubt or waver on this important principle of our Party.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

1. Adhering to the four cardinal principles: adhering to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought

2. **Chen Duxiu** (1879-1942), a native of Huaining, Anhui Province, began editing the magazine *Qingnian* (Youth), or *Xin Qingnian* (New Youth) as it was later called, in September 1915. Together with Li Dazhao, he founded the *Meizhou Pinglun* (Weekly Review) in 1918. He was an advocate of the new culture and one of the chief leaders of the May Fourth new cultural movement. After the May Fourth Movement of 1919, he accepted and propagated Marxism. He was one of the main founders of the Communist Party of China and served as its chief leader for its first six years. In the last period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he committed the serious error of Right capitulationism. Later, he lost faith in the future of the revolution and accepted the Trotskyite views. He formed a faction inside the Party, engaged in anti-Party activities and was consequently expelled from the Party in November 1929. Later, he openly engaged in Trotskyite organizational activities. In October 1932, he was arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang, and was released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942.

3. **Wang Ming**, alias of Chen Shaoyu (1904-74), a native of Jinzhai, Anhui Province, joined the Communist Party of China in 1925. He was mem-

ber of the CPC Central Committee and of its Political Bureau, and secretary of the Changjiang Bureau of the Central Committee. He was the principal exponent of the "Left" adventurist mistakes in the Party during the period from January 1931 to the time immediately preceding the Zunyi Meeting of the Political Bureau held in January 1935. On top of this, he made Right capitulationist mistakes in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). For a long period of time, he rejected the Party's criticism and help and, during the 1980s, degenerated into a traitor to the Chinese revolution.

4. **Zhang Guotao** (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province, attended the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1921. He was elected member of the CPC Central Committee and member of its Political Bureau and the Bureau's Standing Committee. In 1931, he served as secretary of the Hubel-Henan-Anhui Sub-bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic. After the First and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army joined forces in Maogong area, Sichuan Province, in June 1935 during the Long March, he became general political commissar of the Red Army. He opposed the Central Committee's decision to have the Red Army continue its northward march, carried out activities to split the Party and the Red Army and set up a separate central committee. In June 1936, he was forced to abolish his second central committee, and then continued the northward march with the Second and Fourth Front Armies, reaching northern Shaanxi Province in December. Beginning from September 1937, he served as vice-chairman and then acting chairman of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. In April 1938, while allegedly going to attend a grave-sweeping ceremony for Huangdi, the legendary Yellow Emperor in China of the remote antiquity, he fled the Border Region, went to Wuhan via Xian and joined the Kuomintang secret police. He thus became a renegade to the Chinese revolution, and was subsequently expelled from the Party. He died in Canada in 1979.

5. In accordance with the opinion of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, *Renmin Ribao* of June 20, 1956 carried an editorial entitled "Oppose Both Conservatism and Impetuosity," pointing out that in the course of the vigorous development of China's socialist construction there emerged cases of impetuous and rash advance which were beyond real possibilities. Thus the various localities put stress on solving the problems in this respect. In his speech at the Third Plenary Session (Enlarged) of the CPC Eighth Central Committee held in the autumn of 1957, Mao Zedong began to criticize the 1956 effort to oppose rash advance, and at the Nanning Meeting of January 1958 and the Chengdu Meeting of March of the same year, he further severely criticized such effort. All this enabled the "Left" ideology to grow rapidly in the Party.

6. This refers to the struggle in 1959 against the so-called Right opportunist line of Peng Dehuai. See Item 17 of the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, *Beijing Review*, No. 27, 1981.

Chinese Workers' Spare-Time Activities

by Our Correspondent Jian Chuan

WORKERS of China's industrial and mining enterprises work six days, 48 hours a week. After their eight daily hours of work, workers have been enjoying increasingly diversified private leisure pursuits.

Xiamen, a medium-sized city with a population of about one million people, in southeast China's coastal Fujian Province, has 150,000 workers and staff members. It has established a three-level workers' recreational activity network (a worker-peasant cultural palace at the city level, workers' clubs at the district level and enterprise-owned workers' recreational centres). The cultural palace and workers' clubs have libraries, table tennis, television and chess game rooms, as well as basketball and volleyball courts. The cultural palace is used by about 10,000 people every day. The enterprise-owned workers' recreational centres, though they have fewer facilities, also attract many people because they are easily accessible to the workers.

The Xiamen Electricity Supply Bureau, one of the city's 18 enterprises which employ more than 1,000 each, is very active in promoting its workers' spare-time activities. In addition to a performing troupe which was founded in 1965, in 1979 it formed some sports teams and hobby groups, with a total membership of more than 100. Every year the bureau sponsors 20-30 recreational and sports contests which always at-

tract many participants from among both the bureau directors and ordinary workers.

Artistic Performing Troupe

In the last 18 years the bureau's artistic performing troupe has frequently toured the grass-roots units and is greatly welcomed by the workers.

Most of the 13 members of the troupe are amateur artists from different grass-roots units. They stay at their jobs all week except Saturday afternoons, the time for rehearsing or giving performances. Many are not only good at playing musical instruments but also at singing and dancing, and some even write and direct. Their recent performance at the sanatorium of the Fujian provincial electric power departments featured mostly programmes they had created themselves, and lasted more than an hour. The troupe has made a name for itself in the city; its female and male soloists each won a prize at the city's workers' amateur theatrical festival last year.

The troupe has received great help from the bureau's leadership. Apart from regularly allocating funds for purchasing and replacing musical instruments, the bureau leadership also asked the various grass-roots units to make things convenient for the amateur artists. Although the membership of the troupe has changed many times in the past years, the troupe has never failed to attract workers like a magnet, and has continued to enrich their spare-time activities.

Luo Meichuan, a mezzo-soprano, is a worker at the substation of the Xiamen Harbour Power Plant. After she became a worker in 1977, she felt rather bored after work and

Girls at the Southern Xinjiang Oilfield enjoy themselves after work.



indulged herself in listening to unhealthy foreign music and dressing up in fancy clothes.

Finding that she has a gift for singing, the performing troupe enrolled her in June 1980. In addition to the regular half-day weekly rehearsal, she was sent to the city workers' cultural palace two evenings a week to receive professional training. She found she really enjoyed singing and devoted all her leisure time to improving her skill. A popular mezzo-soprano today, she finds her life full and meaningful.

Study Campaign

More than 100 young people devote their spare time to studying culture and technology at training courses sponsored by the bureau.

Many young people neglected their studies during the chaotic "cultural revolution" (1966-76). Established to meet the young workers' desire to study, the cultural study class covers junior-middle school Chinese, mathematics and physics, while the technical class teaches electrical safety and electricity transforming techniques.

Qiu Aimin, a 29-year-old worker in the dispatcher's office, is a member of the cultural study class. After he was demobilized in 1978, Qiu was assigned to work at an electricity transforming substation in the suburbs of Xiamen. After work, he and six other bachelors at the substation always felt lonely and drank alcohol to "quench sorrow." Soon Qiu began gambling, and became so absorbed that he would play the

whole night. In the morning he would make an excuse at work and catch up on his sleep. Without any interest in study, he still could not master the basic electricity transforming techniques and the regulations for safe operation two years after he took the job.

But influenced by other young workers' passion for study, Qiu made up his mind to give up gambling and applied to join the study group in 1981. He devoted three evenings a week to studying cultural subjects and spent the other evenings learning electricity transforming techniques and driving and repairing motorbikes. All these skills are badly needed in his work. And for the first time since he became a worker, Qiu finds himself pinched for spare time.

Now, he has passed the exams for junior-middle school Chinese and mathematics and is still studying physics. A competent worker today, Qiu came first in a bureau-sponsored motorbike race in 1982 and was cited as an activist in supplying electricity safely.

After a period of study, most of the bureau's 300 young workers have reached the junior-middle school educational level. A large number of new employees now can work independently and safely. Last year, the bureau broke the province's safety record with 340 days of safe operation.

This passion for study has also infected more and more middle-aged and older workers and staff. Engineering and technical personnel are eager to renew their knowledge and leading cadres want to learn scientific management. The bureau is planning to open more classes to meet the growing demand.

Hobby Groups

Older workers are more home-bound. They prefer to spend their leisure time watching TV, listening to the radio, reading books and magazines, doing housework, telling stories to the kids, growing flowers, raising birds and fish, practising musical instruments and calligraphy, and drawing pictures. Some enjoy visiting friends and relatives just to sit and chat. The most active ones,



Young workers at the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant are enthusiastic about political study.

however, are those who join together to pursue their hobbies.

The bureau now has more than 10 such groups, featuring such hobbies as stamp collecting, raising carrier pigeons, chess, photography and writing. Each group has 5-10 members of all ages.

The five-member stamp-collecting group was begun by 32-year-old Lin Wei, a worker in the dispatcher's office, and later became a subsection of the city's philatelist society.

Lin's grandfather, an educator, began collecting stamps when he was a child, and saved 14 albums of Chinese and foreign stamps, from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) to the present. The hobby was passed on to Lin's father, uncle and brothers.

Lin started collecting stamps 10 years ago. He has collected all the commemorative and special stamps printed by China since 1974, including more than 10 sets of rare stamps issued during the "cultural revolution." Being so keen on it, he has never hesitated to spend his money on stamps.

Although it takes up much of his spare time, Lin finds stamp collecting extremely rewarding. "These stamps embrace our colourful world," he said. "From them we learn the major events in our country's political, economic and cultural life from different historical periods. They enrich our knowledge and give us spiritual enjoyment."

At his suggestion, the group is now preparing a stamp exhibit on China's developing power industry. The nearly 100 stamps in 22 sets to be exhibited include those about China's first 220,000-volt transmission line, completed in 1955, and those about the construction of the Xinanjiang Hydropower Station in east China in 1964. The group members also plan to use their spare time to collect background information which will keep their co-workers informed about the development of China's power industry.

October 3, 1983



Daqing Oilfield amateur artists.

Li Youfang, 41, a boiler maintenance worker at the Pengji Power Plant, is one of the five members of the bureau's carrier pigeon group. In 1966, an infant pigeon accidentally flew into his room at the factory's bachelors' quarters. Feeling so sorry for it, he decided to keep the bird for a while. When the pigeon was full-grown, he set it free. But the pigeon flew back to his room. He let it go again, and again it returned. Deeply moved, he began raising pigeons. Li now keeps 36 pigeons of five different breeds. He enjoys flying pigeons in the suburbs with his friends on Sundays and other holidays. He has not only grasped the habits and characteristics of racing pigeons, but has also learnt how to identify good breeds, and has raised a new generation of racing pigeons.

The pigeons he bred and trained have done very well in many competitions sponsored by the province since October 1981. Li now leads the group for training racing pigeons, under the auspices of the 200-member Xiamen city carrier pigeon society.

The Chinese Government, enterprises and trade unions have made great efforts to enrich the workers' spare-time activities. In recent years, with the development of the country's economy, funds used for leisure have been steadily increasing. The activities they support make the workers' private lives more interesting every year. □

Education

CHINA is known as a country with an ancient civilization. But prior to the founding of New China, education developed at a snail's pace due to the backward economy. Beginning from 1949, the existing schools were reformed and a complete educational system from kindergarten to post-graduate school has been set up. From the following tables, readers will

have a picture of the development of China's education in the 30-odd years since liberation.

However, the figures also show China's education is still backward.

The national census (July 1, 1982) showed the number of illiterates and semi-illiterates above 12 years old stood at 235,820,002, or one-fourth of the total population.

The proportion of students at schools of higher learning per 10,000 people is 11.4 in China, 58.4 in India, 106 in the USSR, 210 in Japan and 507 in the United States.

Table I: No. of Schools

	1949	1957	1965	1978	1982
Institutes of higher learning	205	229	434	598	715
Secondary schools	5,216	12,474	80,993	165,105	107,892
Primary schools	346,800	547,300	1,681,900	949,300	880,516
Schools for the deaf and mute	**	66	266	292	312
Kindergartens	**	16,400	19,200	164,000	122,107

Table II: No. of Students at Schools

	1949	1957	1965	1978	1982
(in thousands)					
Institutes of higher learning	117	441	674	856	1,154
Secondary schools	1,268	7,081	14,318	66,372	47,028
Primary schools	24,391	64,283	116,209	146,240	139,720
Schools for the deaf and mute	**	7.5	22.9	30.9	33.7
Kindergartens	**	1,088	1,713	7,877	11,131

Table III: No. of Graduates

	1949-65	1966-76	1977-80	1981-82
(in millions)				
Institutes of higher learning	1.554	1.033	0.591	0.60
Secondary schools	23.891	106.151	80.693	31.106
Primary schools	69.997	165.20	90.03	41.447

Table IV: No. of Teachers

(in thousands)

	1949	1957	1965	1978	1982
Institutes of higher learning	16	70	138	206	287
Secondary schools	83	293	709	3,281	2,871
Primary schools	836	1,884	3,857	5,226	5,505
Schools for the deaf and mute	**	0.7	2.6	4.2	5.4
Kindergartens	**	50	62	277	415

** No figures available

Table V. Status of Regular Institutes of Higher Learning in 1982

	No. of schools	No. of graduates	New enrolment	No. of students
Total	715	454,814	311,820	1,133,494
Universities	32	51,827	35,239	125,200
Polytechnic institutes	206	183,830	106,388	405,619
Agricultural institutes	56	36,720	19,963	70,182
Institutes of forestry	10	4,031	2,280	7,986
Medical universities	112	25,964	29,314	161,869
Teachers' institutes	194	125,444	94,878	281,828
Language institutes	10	4,398	2,847	11,431
Institutes of finance and economics	36	9,207	11,267	37,247
Institutes of political science and law	9	920	2,595	9,225
Institutes of physical culture	13	4,904	2,383	8,349
Art institutes	27	2,951	1,731	4,957
Institutes for nationalities	10	4,618	2,935	9,601

Table VI. No. of Adults at Schools

(in thousands)

	1981	1982
Institutes of higher learning	536	644
Radio and TV universities	170	258
Workers' and peasants' colleges	100	144
Correspondence and evening universities	241	208
Teachers' colleges	25	34
Secondary schools	8,207	10,804
Primary schools	9,736	7,566

Table VII. Educational Levels Attained (per 100,000)

	Institute of higher learning	Senior middle school	Junior middle school	Primary school
1964	416	1,319	4,680	28,330
1982	599	6,622	17,758	35,377

TV FILM

'About the Changjiang River'

"The 6,380-kilometre-long Changjiang (Yangtze) River comes third in length in the world after the Amazon in South America and the Nile in Africa.

"Yet, it has long been assumed that the culture of the Changjiang Valley was younger than that of the Huanghe (Yellow) Valley which had been designated 'the cradle of the Chinese civilization.' This assumption, however, was toppled in 1965 when Chinese archaeologists found two fossil teeth of ape-men on the upper reaches of the Changjiang in Yuanmo County, Yunnan Province. These men are believed to be some one million years older than those of the Huanghe Valley. If this is the case, then, the human development in China must have followed two rivers instead of one."

This prologue introduced Chinese viewers to a 25-part

TV serial, *About the Changjiang River*, which began on August 7.

The serial was co-produced by the China Central Television and the Sada Kikaku Ltd. from Japan. Altogether it presents a 500-minute panorama of the Changjiang, from its headwaters to the river's mouth. Its scope is far wider than previous films on the same subject, which were either too short or superficial.

The serial begins with the Tanggula Mountains up on the Tibetan plateau, where there are scores of modern glaciers and innumerable hot springs. The springs combine to form the headwater of the river. These scenes were shot in the summer of 1976 and 1978, when investigators from the Changjiang Valley Planning Bureau revealed the long-guessed-at source of the great river.

The Changjiang meanders its long course across south China, joined by many tributaries and banked by many mountains, a fascinating landscape. To represent this painting of nature, the photographers trekked 50,000

kilometres to film the Emei, Lushan, Jiuhua and Huangshan and many other mountains, the Jinsha, Minjiang and Chuanjiang Rivers, the Three Gorges, and the Dongting and Poyang Lakes.

Some 300 million people living in the Changjiang Valley drink from it daily. Accordingly, the serial turns its spotlight on the customs and history of people along the river's course. *A stroll in Chengdu*, one of the episodes, deals with everything from tea to teahouses, from tea-time ballads to local heroes. In *The Huge Stretch of the Dongting*, the audience will not only learn something about the patriotic poet and statesman Qu Yuan (343-290 B.C.), but will also be entertained by the June Duanwu Festival, a regatta to commemorate the great poet.

Perhaps even more important than a breathtaking landscape, the Changjiang has witnessed a great deal of history as well. The serial recounts the changes which have taken place along the river. The Gezhou Dam, a newly built water project dividing the river at Yichang, Hubei



The Three Gorges.



Cameramen at work on the Donghu Lake in Wuhan.

Province, will generate 14,100 million kwh annually, facilitate the river transportation and relieve summer floods. Coupled with the 2,000-year-old Dujiangyan water project, the dam will benefit the people for generations to come. Changes in cities on the river banks, such as Wuhan, Nanjing and Shanghai, are also portrayed.

What is characteristic of the serial is its combination of pictures and poetry. There are no fewer than 100 quotations from ancient Chinese poetry, and some 40 legends and historical anecdotes. All these will help the audience to better understand the long tradition of the Changjiang Valley culture.

All aspects of the life of the Changjiang River, including the local history, geography, legends, customs, landscapes and new looks, have something unique to contribute to the success of this serial.

STAGE

Sichuan songs and dances touring Europe

Europeans who are interested in arts of the Chinese minority nationalities will soon be entertained with a fine performance of songs and dances—a Chinese troupe is touring France, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary.

The 49 artists are from southwestern China's Sichuan Province, which, with picturesque scenery and abundant resources, is known as the "land of plenty." One hundred million people, or 10 per cent of China's population, live in Sichuan, comprising a dozen of nationalities such as Hans, Tibetans, Yis, Qiangs and Lisus. Each nationality has nourished the troupe's reper-

toire with its rich and unique cultural traditions.

Since its founding in 1953, Sichuan Provincial Song and Dance Troupe has created and staged many popular music and dance programmes, among which the most acclaimed are the dances of minority nationalities. Twenty of their more than 100 dances have won national or provincial awards.

Spring in Kangba, a Tibetan dance, depicts the happiness of the Tibetans living in northwestern Sichuan. With its changes in rhythm, the dance has successfully combined the tap dance style with *xianzi*, a typical Tibetan dance characterized by soft, graceful movements of the upper body and gentle undulation of the arms.

Happy Nuosu portrays the Yi people in the post-liberation years when they had just smashed the shackles of their slavery. Its striking rhythm, and light and quick movements punctuated by the dancers' call always draw an enthusiastic response from the audience.

Lilies is a newly created Qiang dance. With a fresh and simple style, the dancers form varied designs of lilies—a

symbol of the happy Qiang maids. The special technique of the Qiang dance—shaking shoulder bells—adds even more liveliness and naivety to the young girls.

Based on the ancient lantern fair held every year around the Spring Festival in the provincial capital of Chengdu, the artists created the dance *Watching Lanterns*. When the curtain rises, seven children burst on to stage, accompanied by wind and percussion instruments. They perform a series of humorous movements while watching the various lanterns hung on the stage. The comic atmosphere is brought to a climax when the children change their topless straw hats into more than a dozen different types of hats.

The troupe has also created numerous classical dances based on ancient Sichuan operas and dance movements painted on cultural relics. A good example is *A Promenade in the Shu Court*, which relives the graceful dances and music performed in the court of the State of Shu 1,000 years ago.

The Sichuan Song and Dance Troupe has many experienced



LITERATURE

Popular science writing

While science fiction is carrying away the imagination of many Westerners, popular science writing here in China is beginning to capture its own readership. Full of comprehensible and practical features, the genre received even more support recently when the China Association of Popular Science Writers cited 46 works for awards at their Beijing meeting.

The awards were given to commend the tasks these various writers had undertaken. Their subject matter ranged from popularizing scientific farming, so that farmers can better deal with plant pests and diseases and diversify rural economy, to explaining in scientific terms some of the mysterious phenomena which are often beyond the understanding of the common folk.

Disguised as children's stories, fables, fiction, reportage, essays, poems, ballads, survey and travel notes and educational filmscripts, pop-sci's appealing features are perfectly suited to the unscientific public which thirsts for scientific knowledge.

Most of the award-winning writers this year are new faces in literary circles. Some even come from the production and research ranks.

The awards were made from among more than 1,500 entries, solicited from all over China under the organization of *Popular Science Writing* magazine and the Committee of Scientific Literature. This large number of entries reflects the increasing popularity pop-sci is enjoying in China. In 1982 alone, more than 4,000 pop-sci titles were published, and 120 maga-

zines brought journal circulation to 17,000,000 copies. Pop-sci has even found its way into newspaper columns and supplements.

Calling on pop-sci writers to create even more works, the Director of the China Association of Popular Science Writers, Dong Chuncai, said at the meeting that still more high-quality popular science writing is needed to further broaden scientific knowledge and eliminate superstition among the old and young alike.

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dancers. Wen Yongxia, 36, has been dancing for more than 20 years. Her exclusive performance is *Cloak Dance*. Using a Yi woman's cloak, she spins and whirls, looking like a fluttering butterfly one moment and a blossoming camellia the next.

Scores of young dancers are growing up in the troupe too. Wang Yulan, 25, is a promising female solo dancer. Apart from the classic dance *The Butterfly and Flower*, she also performs many minority nationality dances, and has really mastered their different styles and techniques.

Some celebrated singers and national instrument players will also perform during the European tour.

CORRECTIONS: On page 20 in our Issue No. 39, the figures in line four of the fifth paragraph in the left-hand column should be 600-800. The first sentence of the second paragraph in the left-hand column on page 23 should read: "Altogether, more than 100,000 people from over 160 units were involved in the project."



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